NEWS PEACE

War-Resistance and World-Community

No. 638

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September 17th, 1948

THREE PENCE

EN HALSNING TILL VARA SVENSKA LASARE

DEACE News urges i England men läses över hela världen. Vi hoppas i fort-tuningen vinna ännu fler vänner i ännu krijander til det ideal som vi arhetar för r lander, ty det ideal som vi arbetar för an förverkligas endast när mänsklighetens nindamentala samhörighetskänsla vuxit sig

vise fram mot en värld där kriget inte längre har någon plats och där en ny mänsklig gemenskap kommit till stånd. Vi hoppas att Peace News skall intressera Er sänder Er en broderlig hålsning från tidning och den rörelse den represent-

WORLD UNION: FROM WITHOUT OR WITHIN?

It is a sign of spiritual decay that in their present desperate plight many nations should be turning to amalgamations, Continental or add Unions and Federations, for salvation.

⁹⁰Die in desperation manifest a health of any kind. Today we are one of those eras of social disinte-ration when nothing short of new spiritual foundations can lift nations above their weaknesses and perils, but because this is a hard way they look for quick salvation by means of new organisations and new machinery, while the dreamers proclaim the com-

COMMENTARY

by WILFRED WELLOCK

of an apocalyptic era and the reign a thousand years of peace! Even latter can only be justified if it realised that the New World will descend ready-made from the but will rise slowly from the on new and better foundations. ranic-stricken nations like panic-ricken persons will not, save themby merely clutching hold of one ther: they will only drown together ad of separately, which alas is many of them seem like doing. really distressing fact in the life oday is that nations which have noveredecimated, weakened and im-ean erished by two world holocausts, while still think of saving themselves continuing in the way of life caused them, and even while prepare for a third.

The spreading impasse

HERE lies the cause of the spreading impasse which is the outstand-fact of our time. It exhibits onditions with personal and national solutions, to internal conditions, to talk that the outward forms of life that the outward forms of inthe broduct and expression of inmotives, of values which may slowly deteriorated over long is, until at last their contradicwith the eternal laws of spirith bring the owners face to with a relentless Nemesis.

With a relentless Nemesis.

because we have now reached of those periods in which life men and nations to account, we meet everywhere with the st amazing contradictions which amazing contradictions which unnoting and without hinder a single hair in the massingle heads of our time. That is tongs and organisations calling for armament, while making depends armament while making demands the State which necessitate arments. This, in fact, is a condition insanity which is not recognised as the only because it is so widespread. an asylum there are no insane.
On September 7 I took the follow-(CONTINUED ON PAGE SIX)

Disarmament Appeal French Scientists'

STOP MANUFACTURE OF MASS DESTRUCTION WEAPONS

Military Research Condemned

THE French Association of Scientific Workers has unanimously adopted an appeal to all the scientists in the world to redouble their efforts in order to secure "the resumption of international negotiations, by any means or in any place whatsoever, aiming at the final elimination of the threats which weigh on the world and stopping the application of science in the service of death."

Never was such an appeal more urgent. "The probability that effective international control of atomic energy will be instituted in the near future is virtually nil," states Dr. A. E. Shils, Advisory Editor of the Bulletin of Atomic Scientists, towards the end of his important booklet, The Atom Bomb in World Politics (National Peace Council, 2s.); and when UNO meets in Paris next week, it is likely to confirm his view, by dissolving the Atomic Energy Commission.

What does this mean? That the rulers of the Great Powers have declared their political bankruptcy. Henceforth, as far as they are concerned, the atomic armaments-race will proceed unchecked, until the financial and psychological burden becomes so intolerable that one or other has recourse to "preventive war."

Already, Russia has inserted a clause in her treaties with the satellite states of Eastern Europe, committing them to take joint action against any preparation for aggression on the part of Germany or a Power associated with it.

AN ARSENAL

At the same time, America is proposing that Britain be built up as an arsenal for Western Europe. The whole European Recovery Programme is jeopardised by military prepara-tions which, while they lower our re-sistance to Communism, increase the determination of the Russians to secure control of the "Western Base." As N. F. Mott writes:

"We can hardly doubt that, while their expansionism is a product of their history and their doctrine, it is accentuated by the threat of atomic Scientists' News.

If this unspeakable crime and catastrophe is to be prevented, it will be up to the people of the democracies either to change their Governments, or to force a new policy upon them. No risk that they may take for peace can be greater than the risk they are taking now.

The French scientists, in the course of their declaration (published in full in the Atomic Scientists News, Vol. II, No. 2) states:

"A\$ men, we cannot but condemn the use of force in the settlement of international questions; as scientists, the study, manufacture or use of scientific armaments—atomic, biological or others—seem to us particularly abhorrent.

"We do not believe that the use of traditional armaments is less blameworthy than that of atomic armaments, but the possession of instruments of mass destruction constitutes a means of intolerable oppresion. If, then, the limitation and control of armaments are necessary, those of the weapons of mass destruction are particularly urgent.

"Atomic armaments are not the only means of mass destruction. Other methods, less publicised, notably biological armaments, represent a danger that may be even more serious for humanity. In fact today bacteriological warfare can be prepared very cheaply, and without detectable production centres, by more than 20 nations; nor is it certain that a decision to end hostilities

would stop its effects, or that the latter could be localised to the belligerents. This leads us to c-ndemn military research which aims to increase the virulence of germs, or to obtain new pathogenic species.

"WE BELIEVE THAT KEEPING THEAPEUTIC RESULTS SECRET, FOR MILITARY PURPOSES, IS ALREADY A CRIME AGAINST HUMANITY.

"Atomic weapons can kill millions of civilians in big cities but would have a low efficiency against ground or air forces. They do not guarantee the occupation of the devastated ground. On the other hand, the more a war is waged with technical means (communications, convoys, pipelines, etc.), the more the army is vulnerable to partisan action.

"From experience of gther wars, we feel

"From experience of other wars, we feel that an armed conflict would not be a blitzkreig and could not be localised. We fear that France and the neighbouring countries would be utterly destroyed, since they would be used as a sort of atomic 'cushion.'"

The French scientists go on to criticise the schemes of World Government put forward by some of their colleagues in other countries, "The establishment of such a World Government," they say, "would require

preliminary agreement on all funda-mental political questions, we believe mental political questions, we believe that it is an illusion to take this goal—certainly desirable, but as yet distant—as an immediate basis for action." Instead, they advance the following proposals:

"Governments must pledge themselves to an earnest search for an agreement in order that we may emerge from the present international difficulties. The millions of human lives which would be the cost of a war should weigh more than the fictitious reasons of prestige.

FRENCH PLEDGE

"On June 25, 1946, France pledged herself to limit to peaceful applications the development which she is carrying on in the field of atomic energy, thus excluding all military applications. It would seem desirable that other nations pledge themselves to the same course. Already, ANY NATION CAN SOLEMNLY::PLEDGE NOT TO BE THE FIRST TO USE WEAPONS OF MASS DESTRUCTION AGAINST CIVILIANS without injuring by that its own defence against possible aggression. Unquestionably, a great moral benefit would be gained by mations which made such a declaration. "We believe that the problem of dis-

declaration.

"We believe that the problem of disarmament could be approached in the following way: as a first step, nations would stop research and manufacture of weapons of mass destruction. Thus a second step would be made possible; the partial destructions of existing stocks, followed by the gradual establishment of a form of control. In this way we should finally attain the psychological and material conditions mecessary for the total elimination of these weapons, to be accompanied by a complete form of control."

CONTRARY WILL OF GOD TO

-Amsterdam declaration

A Correspondent attending the World Council of Churches at Amsterdam sends us the following comment:

DID not come to this Assembly with too great an expectation that this body, composed of official representatives of 150 churches, resident in 42 nations, would go as far in their resolutions as we pacifists would like them to go, or as pacifist organisations have gone. However, it is gratifying that equal recognition is given to the pacifist position in Section IV report dealing with the Church and International Disorder. Perhaps it will be well to quote directly from the report:

eport:

"We are one in proclaiming to all mankind: War is contrary to the will of God.
War as a method of settling disputes is
incompatible with the teaching and example
of our Lord Jesus Christ. The jungle state
of our present international life, in which
war plays its terrific role, is a sin against
God and a degradation of man. . . Law
may require the sanction of force, but when
war breaks out force is used on a scale
which tends to destroy the basis on which
law exists. . Therefore, the inescapable
question arises: Can war now be an act
of justice? We cannot answer this question
unanimously, but three broad positions were
maintained in the course of discussion. maintained in the course of discussion

(1) There are those who refuse military service of all kinds, convinced that an absolute witness against war and for peace is for them the will of God and desire that the Church should so speak.

desire that the Church should so speak.

(2) There are those who consider that in the absence of impartial supra-national institutions the ultimate sanction of the rule of law is military action by the nations agreeing to support the rule of law, and that citizens must be distinctly taught that it is their duty to defend the law by force if necessary.

(3) Others again hold that, even though entering a war may be a Christian duty in particular circumstances, modern warfare, with its mass destruction, can never be an act of justice."

In the first draft of this report paragraph (1) was listed as (3) and (3) as (1).

It is interesting to note that the

Council frankly acknowledge perplexity in facing these conflicting opinions and urge upon all Christians the duty of wrestling continuously with the difficulties they raise, and of pray-ing humbly for God's guidance. "In the meantime the church must con-tinue to hold within full fellowship all those who sincerely profess the different viewpoints set above." It is to be hoped that the clear, straightforward setting forth of the three different views in the report will eventually result in principle. tually result in a universal recognition of the inconsistency between the pro-clamation and the practice.

The whole council, united as they were on the proclamation quoted above, indicates clearly that there is hope for the future and that more and more the leaders of Christendom will arrive at a position of consistency with their profession.

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Difficulties

DR. J. H. OLDHAM'S comments on pacifism are always conspicuously fair. In the Aug. 18 issue of The Christian News-Letter, while admitting that "the traditional case for the participation of Christians in war has gone by the board," he raises "three points of difficulty" which, as he says, "the pacifist case as commonly presented does not meet." These points deserve our scrutiny.

In the first place, Dr. Oldham " arguments about the incompatibility of war and perfect love are beside the point." This we gladly admit. But we are pacifists, not because war conflicts with perfect love, but because it conflicts with elementary respect for persons which is the very sap of the free society—apart from which the free society, though it may survive for a time like a cut flower, must eventually wither and perish. We are pacifists, not because the renunciation of is an absolute good, but because it is the lesser evil.

In the second place, he contends, the pacifist must show not only why it is the Christian's duty to dissociate himself from society at war, but further, that he can so dissociate himself. This is more serious, for, as he points out, "In modern total war there is nothing that a man can do that does not in some way further the common war effort." But the pacifist is not alone in this dilemma. The soldier whose conscience conflicts with his actions is no less divided than the CO whose actions conflict with his conscience; and in order to be consistent, Dr. Oldham must criticise not only the CO in Britain, but the pastor in Germany also, who refrained from hounding Jews to their death, although every tax he paid contributed to the upkeep of the Nazi regime: he must applaud rather the concentration camp guard who did the dirty work himself.

"The question which confront the conscientious objector to war is how he can effectively oppose the decision of society without in effect leaving to others the dirtier and more dangerous tasks and living in relative ease at the price of their exertions." Alas, the very fact that in total war every citizen is more or less a combatant, and therefore a legitimate target, makes the finding of "dangerous tasks" of a humanitarian nature only too lamentably simple.

Far more weighty than either of Dr. Oldham's first two points, however, is the third, which, as he rightly says, "haunts and perplexes many who so hate war that they would sacrifice their own lives rather than perpetrate certain acts which war requires." It is this: "A movement for unilateral disarmament, injected into the political arena and the confused welter of the struggle for power, might in the play of political forces have the unintended and undesired effect of bringing about the explosion."

That is all too true, as we have repeatedly emphasised in this column. In the last resort the pacifist must admit that he is one who, like Dr. Oldham himself, will not buy peace at any price. If the price of peace is acquiescence in deeds that are an outrage to conscience, he refuses to pay it.

Nevertheless, even a pon-pacifist studying the present state of the world objectively, with no other concern than to find the policy most likely to prevent war, may reach the conclusion that unilateral disarmament is the best; or at any rate that, in view of "the uncertainties which attend all political action," it stands as good a chance as the alternative—that armed truce which, according to Dr. A. E. Shifs (Bulletin of the Atomic Scientists), "can never be transformed into a stable peace based on moral concensus," but "can turn only into an atomic bomb war."

We would welcome a discussion by Dr. Oldham, and others as unbiassed as he, of the arguments which have led some of us to this conclusion arguments that are not mere rationalisations of our pacifism, but respond directly to the question. What can we do to prevent war?

LUXEMBOURG

Nearly two hundred official delegates and many more observers, from a score of countries throughout the world, gathered together at the Cercle Municipal, Luxembourg, from Septemper 4 to 11 for the second annual congress of the World Movement for World Federal Government.

CITIZENS OF THE WORLD UNITE

THE movement was formed total votes of the House; Italy's Montreux, Switzerland, to unite 24 federalist organisations in various parts of the globe, with a mandate to work for a world federal government with legislative, executive and judicial powers to enforce world law directly on the individual. The number of its member organisations has now grown to over 73. Delegates were able to study the first issue of a full-size four-page monthly newspaper Le Monde Federe, published by the WMWFG in French and English.

Addressing the opening session, Mr. Emery Reves, author of the world best seller "The Anatomy of Peace," called upon the West European Nations to initiate the evolution to-wards World Federation. He said that many people in Western Europe realised that their national institutions were no longer powerful enough to protect them against the miseries of wars, and felt the necessity to create a higher legal order for their own protection and prosperity.

YEAR'S GROWTH

A French Abbott, Groues Pierre, a delegate of the Comite Francais pour les Etats-Unis du Monde, told a Press Conference that the movement had grown considerably since its in-augural meeting a year ago. Monsieur Jean Larmeroux, retiring presi-dent of the WMWFG reported that in France two hundred French M.P.s had joined the movement; there was a very strong federalist group in the British House of Commons; in Lux-embourg the federalist M.P.s com-prised about three-quarters of the

this time last year in group of two hundred and forty M.P.s was growing daily, and similar successes were reported from the Netherlands, Scandinavia and elsewhere.

Speaking on the movement's atti-tude towards Western Union, Mon-sieur Alexandre Marc (France) recalled that the Montreaux Declaration was in favour of regional understanding and that the door was open to federal groupings. Europe was now the only important area, and all federations on a regional basis would have to be welcomed provided they were steps towards universality.

IN RUSSIA

Replying to a question as to what encouragement the ideal of federal government received from the USSR and the Eastern European countries, Abbe Groues Pierre reported on his recent visit to the USSR, Czechoslovakia and Jugoslavia, where he had found that federalism was regarded as the only practical theory of world government, whether it came about as the result of the triumph of Marxism or by any other means. In practice, however, the movement was looked upon with suspicion in those countries, federalists being regarded as the tools of Capitalists who were exploiting them with the intention of capturing the markets of the world!

In an interview, Mr. Ahmet Emin

In an interview, Mr. Ahmet Emin Yalman, editor of the well-known Turkish daily Yatan, said that in Turkey the movement was young but rapidly growing, counting amongst its members some prominent personalities in the Government and the National

The Congress divided into about a dozen Special Committees, which reported to Plenary Sessions later in the The Report of the Sub-Committee on East-West Relations stated that the World Federalist Movement had no designs against the just inMAINLY FOR WOMEN

THE "Save the Peace" Rally at

Trafalgar Square, London, of Sept. 5, was an inspiring occasion.
It was good to hear the peoples approval of the pacifist speechs they heard from the lips of Kathled Lonsdale and others. I wonder what their approval most september 1 wonder what their approval most set what every service was a service with the set of the service was serviced to what every service was serviced to what every service was serviced to serviced to service was serviced to service was serviced to service was serviced to service was serviced to serviced to service was serviced to serviced to service was serviced to serviced t their approval meant and to what ele tent they are prepared to put the vociferous show of approval

action?

It was a special call to women to unite to peace. But such unity spells action, the women of Britain prepared to renewar and never under any circumstants support or sanction another? I wonder many of those women who are at this more reading this appeal column are prepared to their hands in their pockets (or at their handsags) and send us a donation result of the sand us at the sand us a donation result of the sand us

MAUD ROWNTRES
Hon. Treasurer

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terests of any nation. It continued "Since peoples or nations so far inclined towards World Government will be influenced by practical evident of the intentions of other peoples nations to establish World Government, it is urged that steps be take press on with the holding of and World Constituent Assembly open

World Constituent Assembly open all states at any stage.

The Congress approved in principle policy statement declaring that "par hased upon justice is the first right and first freedom of mankind. . . The fift of ideologies today accentuates does not mecessarily create the present world-wide insecurity. . Such insecurity and danger are the products of general anarchy among nations." The declarate goes on to state that peace depends our government—government on the level.

The Luxembourg Declaration of part of the control of

The Luxembourg Declaration of for a world federal government dowed with properly delegated powers and responsible not to nations but peoples . . The World Constitute and world law enacted thereunder shall be binding not only upon governments but directly upon individual

Need for patience

STUDENTS of Russia are agreed that in 1914 the stage of social advancement in that country was just about level with that of Britain in the Thirteenth century.

This being so, critics of Russia to-day are wrong in expecting her to have achieved in the last three decades the same measure of advancement as has taken us six centuries to accom-

The struggle for religious liberty took our forefathers about two cen turies; the same may be said of our political liberty; while the rate of progress in tracing out the meaning of liberty in the field of economics durthe present century suggests a full 200 years programme.

Russia, of course, could have moved more quickly since 1917. could we have since 1250; the reason for sloth is not to be found in any particular wickedness in the Russian character but in the innate conservatism of humanity everywhere. Nor can we trace the present impasse in international affairs purely to the supposedly Satanic nature of Karl Marx's Communism. Other nations, too, have a "black record" of sins too, have a "black record other than "Communism." of sins

Indeed the greatest sin of the Communists is not an original one of their own invention, it is one they have inherited from the traditional governing powers of all times and places, namely a belief in the power of violence to settle disputes with other governments and to keep down by violent repression a revolting people

Now we who share the calling of peace making can help our Russian friends by pointing out from our own long experiences that the path of nonviolence, though it may appear the longest, is in reality the shortest and the most effective. India surely proves this.

Also in our criticism of Russia's leaders and Russia's Government let it be unmistakably clear that we are speaking as friends and not as foes. Let us take care that we do not make verbal ammunition for the war mind which is as active in anti-communist circles as it is elsewhere.

Let our critical powers be directed equally to USA as to USSR; for the history of the great American nation is filled with abundant opportunities for service to the Kingdom of

God, too many of which, as in our own case, have been missed.

The history of Russia, with its long story of tyrannical repression, is not so full of the morally tragic "might have beens" as those of Britain and the USA, where the opportunities have been greater.

Coombe Gardens, lournemouth

LETTERS

Palestine

THE question asked by T. Shaikh in the last paragraph of his article in this week's Peace News has already been answered by the Arabs. I wish I could have added "by the Jews help-

ing" in the same way.

Has T. S. read the Mandate of 1922 and of the bonds thereby imposed on a nation that had been promised freedom on the departure of the Turk only to find a Jewish Agency set up for "colonising Palestine" without their being allowed to say a word in the matter? Has he read the 1939 White Paper, in which Britain struggled to be fair to the Arabs, who were longing for a common cul-ture (even building their village schools which could not be manned) but without the means to provide it, whilst the Jews could get ample means from abroad.?

Finally, has he read the offer of joint representative government made by the Arabs to the Jews at the Palestine Conference of 1946 and ignored by UNO who chose instead the disastrous course of racialism and power polities? Let your readers get Pamphlet No. 4 "Palestine: The Solution"; published by the Arab Office in Lon-

don, and they can see the answer.

The Jew can help if he will, but only by giving his brother Arab his rightful place.

A. P. I. COTTERELL.

Westmeade. Winscombe, Somt.

For freedom

THE Freedom Defence Committee gives aid to individuals or organisations irrespective of their political views, the nature of the attack on their freedom being the sole criterion on which it is determined whether or not action should be taken. The Com-

mittee is opposed in principle to forms of military and industrial conscription, and works for the abolition of the Emergency Powers Act, fence Regulations and all exist statutes restricting the freedom

statutes restricting the freedom political action.

We need a regular income of at £1,000 if we are to carry on efficiently has not been forthcoming in the past and our accounts now show a deficit of £145. To enable our work to go forward therefore, we need an immediate sum least £500. Our basic requirements modest enough—a thousand regular subscription at a guinea a year; but we are also desperate need of lump-sum donations and enable us to pay our debts and keep office open.

Subscriptions and donations should be got to Herbert Read. Chairman, Freedom Decommittee, 8 Endsleigh Gardens, Lower Endsleigh Gardens, Lo

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By F. A. Lea ONCE SENTENCED TO DEATH

WHICH WAY SWEDEN?

TORIES about a Scotsman, an Irishman and an Englishman have gone out of fashion here; but stories about Norwegian, a Dane and a wede are still quite popular in Scan-

dinavia. Oddly enough, they are the same stories, only the place of the Englishman ("waiting to be introduced") is taken by the Swede. In Denmark I heard a good deal of the stand-offishness — personal and stand-offishness — personal and hational—of the Swedes; and behind some of the comments, I thought, lay a trace of envy.

Compared with war-stricken Denmark, Norway and Finland, Sweden with its hundred-and-thirty years' with its hundred-and-thirty years history of peace is, indeed, something of a paradise. The question that exercised me last month was whether it was also a fools' paradise? Spared by a happy accident the unprovoked hyasions to which all other Scandination of the provider of the second of the sec vian countries were subject during the War, have the Swedes come to regard as virtually a law of nature that ars take place anywhere but in

So I had been told by several Danish friends, who caustically summed up the Swedish policy of armed neutrality as "the negation of a foreign policy." The survival of Sweden as a decrease the survival of Sweden as a decrease the survival of the survival o weden as a democracy depended on that of Western Europe, they said, and divided Western Europe would not urvive. If the Swedes believed in armed defence, as they did, they should co-ordinate their defences with those of a Western block.

VULNERABLE STOCKHOLM

Of course a Sweden allied to the est, on the very frontier of Russianwest, on the very frontier of Russian-witrolled Europe, would be a battle-field from the word "Go"; Stockholm would be sunk in the sea by the first atom-bombs released. Her situation is nearly as awkward as that of ritain, already sunk in last week's mock air-war, not even a fools' rardise—a fools' inferno. 'Nearly; but not quite. In their thousands of quare miles of densely forested mountains, the Swedes could perhaps wage a guerilla war as successful, in hage a guerilla war as successful, in the long run, as Yugoslavia's. As successful in restoring their in-

As successful in restoring their independence, that is: not in restoring their freedom. The lesson of partisan warfare is unmistakeable. The brutality and subterfuge entailed can

issue only in despotism—Communist if the enemy was Fascist, Fascist if he was Communist: by any other name it smells as sweet.

But these are pacifist considerations. There is no reason for supposing the Swedes to be swayed by them. It really did look as though my Danish friends were right—as though Sweden

were pursuing that negation of a policy which consists of burying your head in the sand while others are swallowed up (Britain in 1938), or in trusting you won't have to fight because others will do it for you.

Was that really the long and short of it? It was with some such question in mind that I went to see Mr. Erik Ljungblom, of the Scandinavian League for International Collaboration.

3,000,000 MEMBERS

The League, which boasts some 3,000,000 members, affiliated either as individuals or through trades unions, teachers' and temperance organisa-tions, is UNO's link with all the Scanteachers' dinavian countries. Through its monthly journal, Mellanfolkligt Samarbete, containing articles in Danish and Norwegian as well as Swedish, it presents the views of all peace societies. But if, as Mr. Ljungblom assured me, it generally favours neutrality, Sweden's is clearly the dominating influence. He, if anybody, I thought, could tell me what determined his country's policy. He did, in two words: "positive neutrality."

Mr. Ljungblom, tall, middle-aged, distinguished, received me very courteously at his office in Stockholm's Old City, although I had arrived with-Swedish, it presents the views of all

courteously at his office in Stockholm's Old City, although I had arrived without any warning. (Courtesy and hospitality I met with everywhere in Sweden: perhaps I am too typical an Englishman myself to notice that Swedish stand-offishness?). Speaking in a slow, but distinct, English, he explained the outlook of the Swedish Parliament.

Not more than 60 out of the 130

Not more than 60 out of the 130 Delegates, he said, were in favour of Western Union; and there was little probability of any change as a result of the September elections. The Social Democrats were likely to lose ground—he predicted a new Coalition of Social Democrats. Liberals and Agrarians: there might be a different rians; there might be a different Foreign Minister: but armed neutra-

lity would persist.
And why? Because the Swedes

most deeply concerned with the preservation of peace were most convinced that Sweden's position as a mediator would be hopelessly compromised, if she threw in her lot with the West. "We do not look on neutrality at a negative thing," he explained. "Neutrality should be positive. We want to be free to devote all our energies to constructive precises.

energies to constructive projects making for international collaboration."

So that was the explanation.

Sweden is prepared to take a risk for peace. But what were these constructive projects? Tentatively, I asked whether many people put their hopes

on World Government.
"No," he replied. "Even fewer
Members of Parliament favour that than Western Union. And while in England a mass election for a World Constituent Assembly may be feas-ible—your pre-war peace ballot was a significant demonstration—here in Sweden we should have to work through parliamentary committees."

The League had sponsored some lectures by distinguished advocates of the idea: among them Henry Usborne, Edith Wynner and Bertrand Russell. But neither Henry Usborne nor Edith Wynner, I gathered, had sounded very realistic—though they had carried more weight than Henry Wallace, in a country bordering the Iron Curtain

a country bordering the Iron Curtain and still granting asylum to refugees from the Baltic States,

By far the deepest impression had been made by Bertrand Russell, who, addressing a packed Riksdagshuset on May 27, had declared that the only way to escape World War IV. was to wage World War III. forthwith. "But I don't think many people in Sweden would follow him," added Mr. Ljungblom with a smile, "though more, perhaps, in Norway and Denmark."

"Where, then, do you look for the prevention of war?" I persisted.

WE LOOK TO UNO

"To UNO. That is the one organisation on which East and West still meet. It might evolve into a kind of World Government. . ." And then, with a vehemence that surprised me, "We must believe in UNO." He paused and looked at me quizzically.
"You do not seem to agree?"
In truth I was thinking of the tab-

leau I had watched in a procession at Kristinehamn: on a lorry, a figure dressed up as Count Bernardotte, smiling blandly between two rows of smiling blandly between two rows of sandbags; a Jew and an Arab firing round him and through him disregardful! Belief in UNO seemed much the same as belief that Russia and America would not fight.

"Positive neutrality" I could appreciate: but where was the positive content? Arms and faith in UNO?

My Danish friends seemed still to be

My Danish friends seemed still to be at least half-right.

I determined to see what the Swedish

rectainment to see what the Swedish pacifists had to say.

(Next week, Mr. Lea will report his interviews with two leading Swedish pacifists: Just Gustavsson, head of the Government's Housing Department, and Sven Gustafson, who is standing as a Liberal candidate in Sunday's parliamentary election).

Italian C.O. now faces 20 years imprisonment

A LDO RESCIGNO, young Italian student, mentioned in Prof. Pioli's report on the Italian Peace Movement (PN, Sept. 3), will be liable to spend up to 20 years in prison when, next year, he refuses for the fourth time to be called up for military service. He had previously been sentenced to death during the Fascist regime for refusing to undertake military service.

The following is the story of his fight against militarism, as recently told to Tony Bishop, the Editor of our Australian contemporary, The Peacemaker, when he was in Italy:

when he was in Italy:

Half Italian, an eighth French, Swiss, Austrian and Yugoslav, Aldo was called up for the army in July, 1943. He did not go. Then the Fascist regime collapsed and there was a general amnesty.

With the setting up of the Northern Italian Fascist Republic, he was called up again in October, 1943. Again he did not go. He was sentenced to imprisonment in absentia. Another call-up came in November, when he was notified that if he reported he would not be penalised, but ported he would not be penalised, but if he did not he would be sentenced to death. He did not comply, and in December left Milan for the mountains. December left Milan for the mountains. There he spent Christmas and New Year, returning to Milan towards the end of January, 1944. Until March he lived with his parents in Milan, but always inside the flat, owing to frequent searches in the street. Then he was sentenced to death (in absentia) and decided to leave the country.

With four friends and false papers he went to Como and crossed the lake. After climbing to the Swiss frontier they met Ger-

to the Swiss frontier they met German police dogs which gave the alarm, and resulted in their turning back, pursued by frontier guards firing. One friend was wounded in the foot. After a night lying hidden in the forest they returned to Milan.

A second attempt by another route was successful. After first being turned back by Swiss guards, they "stuck around" and finally broke into a barn to sleep in the hay. In the morning they were found by the guards, allowed to have their sleep out, given breakfast and taken to Chiasso. Thence to Berne. Here they were kept in a light sort of detention, allowed out mornings, afternoons and evenings. Aldo returned to Milan on July 4, 1945. A second attempt by another route

GEORGE LANSBURY'S PHOTO STILL HANGS IN PRAGUE

THE child welfare work organised by pacifists in Prague still goes on,

reports a correspondent from Czechoslovakia.

Centre for the work is a small ome for children of school age, dilicuv Düm, which has been in situated in one of the poorest districts of Prague.

"The house was especially designed by the school's founder," writes our correspondent. "It is a square modern building with plenty of windows and freshly distempered walls, which make the rooms very light. The children have a study room, work, rescuir and later property of the school was a work, rescuir and later property of the school was a work, rescuir and later property of the school was a work, rescuir and later property of the school was a work, rescuir and later property of the school was a work, rescuir and later property of the school was a work, rescuir and later property of the school was a work, rescuir and later property of the school was a work, rescuir and later property of the school was a work, rescuir and later property of the school was a work and later property of the school was a work and later property of the school was a work and later property of the school was a work and later property of the school was a work and later property of the school was a work as the portraits was a school was a school was a work and later property of the school was a work and later property of the school was a work and later property of the school was a work and later property of the school was a work and later property of the school was a work and later property of the school was a work and later property of the school was a work and later property of the school was a work and later property of the school was a work and later property of the school was a work and later property of the school was a work and later property of the school was a work and later property of the work

music room, etc. On the walls, amongst other pictures, can be found the portraits of T. G. Masaryk, Jan Masaryk, Leo Tolstoy and George

"The school possesses a very fine arden, containing vegetable beds managed entirely by the children themselves), and many fruit trees.
"During the Nazi occupation, the

school was able to continue with its work, rescuing many Jewish children, and later played a very important part in caring for children from concentration camps, and subsequently for the children from the Sudeten-land. It was for this latter service that they were sharply criticised because the Czechs still hate the Germans—all Germans—and they will never forget the atrocities they saw in those black years of occupation.

"Speak of Germany and the Ger-"Speak of Germany and the Germans, and your Czech will recount with intense emotion how the Germans took away his 78-year-old mother and shot her, or sent his father and brother to Berlin on forced labour. It takes the very strongest conviction not to hate when one has suffered, as so many Czechs have suffered.

"The evening at Milicuv Düm will be one of my happiest memories of Czechoslovakia. There in that quiet, sunny garden in war-sickened, hateridden Central Europe, it was still possible to talk freely about peace, and what is more important, to be at peace." peace.

TEN YEARS AGO

From Peace News, Sept. 17, 1938

IN answer to the question propounded by your correspondent, pounded by your correspondent, Marjorie Fenn, as regards the burning of the bombing school at Pullheli, as a pacifist of a good many years' standing, and as one who endeavours to realise the implications of pacifism, may I point out that our Lord Jesus Christ was a pacifist when "he cast out all them that sold and bought in the temple and overthress the tables the temple and overthrew the tables of the-money-changers and the seats of them that sold doves."

This means that Jesus upset and spoilt the stalls of those merchants, thus entailing loss of others peoples' property, and under the circumstances it can be justified as a symbolic act of disapproval-a forcible and strong way of expressing a disapproval of a corrupt institution. It was not meant to coerce any persons into a certain way of life, neither was injury done to any person.

The act of setting fire to the institu-tion at Penrhos, Pwllheli, was a simi-lar action, and deserves the approval of every pacifist throughout the country. I do wish that some pacifists

The following letter appeared from would not be so suspicious of all J. P. Davies of Porthmadog: brands of nationalism. The very fact would not be so suspicious of au brands of nationalism. The very fact that this act was done by nationalists immediately rouses their suspicion. There is a nationalism that is whole-some, natural, and healthy, and the nationalism of these three men (one of them is an avowed pacifist and has been for many years) was apholesome been for many years) was wholesome and pacific. No injury was done to a single person, every precaution was taken to ensure this result; and the property destroyed was a amount of Government timber.

It is not an act to be repeated perhaps, unless the conditions named above could be secured. Nevertheless, as executed, and in the spirit it was accomplished, I have no hesitation whatsoever in calling it an act of peace. It is not by generalisations such as the one made by your correspondent, viz., "surely, setting fire to other peoples' property cannot be considered as non-violent resistance," that we ascertain whether an act is nonviolent resistance or not.

Is not this bogey of loss of property the curse of our civilisation and the very obstacle to all true peace and re-ligion? It should not become a stumbling block to pacifists surely.

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PROCEDURE TODAY LEGAL

THE Englishman has a traditional horror of "going to court," and probably many readers of this paper are acquainted the magistrates courts.

During the last twenty years, with legal procedure only through newspaper reports and the there has been a remarkable growth works of Dickens.

Although we may pride ourselves upon the healthy state of the British legal system, and especially upon its freedom from the corruption which exists in some countries, yet the recent reports of the Royal Commission on the appointment of lay magistrates shows that in the petty sessional courts at any rate there is much to

There is a great contrast between ne ordinary magistrates' courts (as the former police courts now have to be called) and the higher courts of this country. The standard of integthis country. The standard of integrity amongst the judges of the higher courts, both civil and criminal, is probably as high as anywhere in the world. We constantly read sensible and forthright judgments delivered by judges of the higher courts, reached without regard to anything except the relevant evidence.

WHY THEY CONVICT

Magistrates almost invariably convict for trivial offences. Undoubtedly they are influenced on this point by the cost of appeals, knowing quite well that a man who has been wrongfully fined ten shillings is not likely to want to spend fifty pounds on an appeal.

In the Hereford birching case, no publicity was given to the fact that one of the fathers concerned was able to put twenty pounds on the barrel" as a deposit against his appeal to a higher court. But for this, no prominence would have been given to the case at all.

Scores of cases which might awaken

nation-wide interest and indignation if they were known, awaken no interest at all, simply because the people con-cerned cannot afford to proceed beyond the magistrates' court.

A further point is the value attached to police evidence in the lower courts. In theory, the evidence of a policeman is of the same value as that of any other person. In practice, it is no uncommon thing for magistrates to pass some such remark as, would have got on better if you had not tried to dispute the police evidence," or even, "You would have got on better if you had admitted the offence." The police are often allowed to make remarks of a broad, general nature, instead of confining themselves to evidence.

A few months ago, the newspapers made fun of the "delicacy" of an assize court judge who sternly rebuked a policeman for mentioning that the defendant was illegitimate. rebuke was perfectly justified, but lay magistrates often allow irrelevant remarks of this kind, and appear to sentence the offender, not only for the offence with which he is charged, but also for any foibles which may not appeal to the magistrates.

Magistrates also regard offences against property as being much more reprehensible than offences against the person. A broken window is of much more importance than a broken nose. The sole exception is in the case of assaults against the police. It is difficult to understand this distinction, as it presumably requires more courage to assault a policeman than to assault civilian much less able to defend

Finally, one cannot but comment on the unsympathetic treatment meted

A critical survey by JOHN VINCENT

out to offenders whose only trouble is of a medical nature, as, for example, in the case of wilful exposure.

n the case of wilful exposure.

Only the barbarously cruel, or the abysmally ignorant can fail to realise that such offenders need, not punishment, but skilled treatment. Yet often defendants whose only crime is the commission of an offence which is solely due to mental and physical illness are sentenced to a fairly long term of imprisonment, and are roughly told that, "you may get medical help in prison." It would be interesting to know how many psychiatrists practice in British prisons, and how much attention they are able to give to each individual case.

Cases of this kind, if they are to be brought before a court at all, should clearly be taken out of the control of lay magistrates, and the Press should forbidden to report them.

It is odd that the intellectuals of the Labour Party and the pacifist movement rarely reach the bench. Justices are culled from the political clubs, and the socialist parties are content with supporting elderly trade unionists whose outlook is more conservative than that of members of the servative than that of members of the Conservative Party. Unfortunately, many pacifists accept the other man's politics by default, and while this is so, we cannot expect that the humanitarian outlook, which is an integral

THE unity of peace, the idea ■ of peace over-all, has long since departed from the world. So many other things keep getting in the way. Peace is shredded into fragments by the sheer mechanics of civilisation. And as long as we sustain, and are sustained by, this civilisation, we can-not hope to rebuild the ark of peace: we cannot see where to put the bricks, or what to make them of. We are ourselves, as individuals suffering from fragmentation too.

The "Anatomy of Peace" has been constructed and reconstructed ad nauseam, but we cannot infuse it with life. It might just as profitably be called the "Anatomy of War": they are both as dead as any dissecting-room corpse. The anatomy of peace is indeed a sorry skeleton, that no amount of wighful skeleton, that no amount of wishful thinking can clothe with flesh—be-cause flesh can only live in the elements of this world, and the elements of peace, globally-speaking, do not exist. We can plan for peace, but not plan peace: it cannot be blue-printed into existence. Either it is existence, or it has no meaning.

And yet, we cannot altogether abandon peace. We have somehow to keep the sense of it alive. What is needed is surely to discover a "Physiology of Peace," a creative functioning in the world as it is now, not in some remote, unrealised circumstance.

is easy to build on specular.

If we are strong, we shall keep

The war... The TT is easy to build on speculation. the peace . . If we disarm, of course there can't be war . . The ding-dong battle goes on, but the point is that we are neither strong nor disarmed, and not likely to be in the foreseeable future.

The world has always been partially in arms, and partially at peace, but never wholly so: old virtues, mercifully, die as hard as old vices. But the clutch of power is only released as it becomes replaced by something more vital, out of a more profound necessity.

Never before. It is tempting to put
the cart before the horse—especially
when the cart is big and beautiful and perfectly constructed, and the horse so often an obstinate, idiotic donkey; but only the donkey can get the cart out of the mire.

With all the will in the world, peace cannot be switched on, like the electric light; or "declared," like war. We can only declare war, and know that it will work, because we are part of our pacifist faith, will pervade

of committees, tribunals, and commissions of one kind or another, which are able to make decisions, and in some cases even to delegate to their officials the making of decisions, which have all the authority of a verdict in a court of law. In peace time, I would rather entrust myself to one of the many bodies of this kind—Ministry of Labour Committees, Rent Tribunals, Agricultural Committees and so forth, than to the ordinary magistrates court. Now and again officials and magistrates are brought into conflict in court, and at such times magistrates are very jealous of their rights, and make it clear that they regard the infliction of penalties, the making of mistakes, and the humiliating of defendants as their own special prerogative. The baiting of officials is a welcome relief to the more common sport of lecturing defendants who are rash enough to venture into court without legal

LESSON OF 18B

LESSON OF 18B

To digress, it is to be hoped that at some future time there will be written a very full and comprehensive record of all the 18B cases. I think the record of men who were detained without ever really knowing the evidence against them would shock all legally minded people. Unfortunately, for the greater number of people, it is sufficient that a man should be stigmatised, rightly or wrongly, as pro-enemy. Once the stigma has become firmly affixed, no

Words of Peace - No. 247

Humanity Forgotten

"WAR is a hard master, and tends to assimilate men's characters to their conditions.

But when men are retaliating upon others, they are reckless of the future and do not hesitate to annul those common laws of humanity to which every individual trusts for his own deliverance, should he ever be everythen by adamity the forest overtaken by calamity; they forget that in their own hour of need they will look for them in vain."

-Thucydides, Book III (Jowett).

punishment can be too heavy, and no

abuse too violent.

It is clear from the report of the Royal Commission that changes are necessary in the lower courts, and in the appointment of magistrates. think what is required is not so much a change of procedure as a recognition of the fact that magistrates must be appointed from a much broader strata of society than formerly

PATH TO THE BENCH

In the public life of this country, offices have a snowball effect. A man reaches the town council because he is known as a successful man of business. He is appointed to the bench, not because he is known as a man skilled in weighing and assessing evidence or because he has judicial capacity, and certainly not because he is known as a man of proved humanitarian convictions, but merely because appointment to the bench has come to be regarded as the fitting culmination of a life of public activity.

For far too long, we have accepted this situation by default (as many of us have been content to accept other peoples' politics by default) and it is time that we protested more strongly against the existing state of affairs.

The Physiology of Peace

conditioned to war; it comes easily to us. Or rather, we have condi-tioned ourselves to it, by all the stresses and conflicts of our peacetime lives. We have not conditioned ourselves to peace, and if we were overnight abandoned by all the external powers that prop us up, to muck along "in peace," we should soon degenerate into chaos, followed by a new and more ruthless dictatorship.

The leopard cannot change his spots simply by sitting on the hearth and making noises like a domestic cat. But it is possible he may be induced to forget the use of his claws, by using them a little less each day, until finally the necessity for using them eludes him, and they drop off. That is how most natural growth occurs, and it cannot be accelerated, except by producing a freak bean-stalk growth that will snap at the first unfavourable breath of wind.

WE have therefore to prepare for peace, by living the sort of lives that make peace inevitable—and an enduring peace must surely be the last link, rather than the first, in a chair condition. in a chain composed of an infinity of small facts of self-discipline and imaginative response to the kind of world we live in. We cannot renounce war until we have embraced peace, and become involved in it so inextricably that life could not go on in any other way.

Working for peace as a policy may not be the best preparation for liv-

ing in peace. It is inclined to leave one in a vacuum, cut off from the main stream of life, as happens to pacifists in wartime. It is said that the true test of pacifism is its attitude in wartime; but by then it is too late, and pacifism is bound to become something of an abnormality. It is not a good thing to feel cut off, in however good a cause, and very few can take it without some damage to their self-

The true test of our capacity for peace is surely in the kind of lives we live from day to day, without the stimulus of a special "situation." Not that there is ever any lack of stimulus. Life is full of dangers, crises and situations, though most of the important ones pass unrecognised. If only we can learn to recognise the things that are impor-tant, and respond to them, we shall have achieved one phase in the painful evolution towards peace.

And how do we know what is important? Surely by what has survived from the past, the common heritage of civilised man as embodied in the teachings of all the great masters. There are certain fundamental rules for the "good life": rules not of authority but of necessity, because it has been proved that they work. They are had in the hears work. They are bred in the bones of all of us, and we cannot go on ignoring them and hope to survive.

MARGARET TIMS.

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Pacifist Profiles VII

RAOUL MELO was born in Paris in 1908. It was not

until 1934 that he came into

contact with the French pacifist

movement and the War Resisters' International. He had

thought his own way gradually

to pacifism, reading widely in

his spare time as an accountant

and salesman-Plato and the

Stoic philosophers, as well as

modern religious and meta-

Already by 1929, however, he had

MUSIC & DRAMA

The Gioconda Smile

IGSAW puzzles are often its passages could be bodily inserted in a pacifist or Wellockian pamphlet and there be perfectly at home together the interlocking pieces until you have a complete picture. You can then turn the whole thing over, and there, readymade for you, is another finished and quite different picture. This play* is something like that. It makes up to a cunningly-contrived murder-melodrama, but it is also a philosophical disquisition. The melodrama side is good enough for any Agatha Christie or even Edgar Wallace addict; indeed the great Edgar himself would have been proud of this plot.

A young woman poisons an invalid wife in the mistaken impression that the husband would then take herself, the poisoner, to his arms. In fact he marries another girl and in her rage and humiliation the poisoner manages get suspicion cast on the husband. Follows exhumation, trial, condemnation. This proves to be so good and exciting a plot that we must not disclose the ending.

WISE AND WITTY

There are other excitements; the stimulation of hearing a series of wise and witty comments on life and civilisation, men and women, industry and a score of other things; the excitement of hearing ideas expressed with clarity and style; the excitement of hearing the development of a philosophy of non-violent resistance philosophy of non-violent resistance to evil. The writing has this curious quality; that it never fails to be intensely dramatic and yet dozens of

By Aldous Huxley, Wyndham's Theatre.

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Because a condemned-cell scene is used to express some of the philosophy, the play inevitably brings to mind the Chaplin film, Monsieur Verdoux. But the differences are too great for the comparison to be continued with much Chaplin's film dealt sledgehammer blows in the last few minutes; this play keeps up an almost continuous comment on the human tragi-comedy an dhas its climax in the deep philosophical discussion in the



Aldous Huxley

death-cell (This particular scene was worthy of Shaw in the dramatic power with which it projected a discussion of pure ideas). Even the lowest-grade product of compulsory education could not fail to see that Monsieur Verdoux had got something to say about killing people, but I fancy that many people might see The Gioconda Smile as simply a murdor play one of whose characters is der play, one of whose characters is a cranky doctor with a bee in his bonnet about accepting evil. To those bonnet about accepting evil. To those bringing a degree of intelligence to their play-going, however, the deeper content is unmistakable: the play is a mine of rich and searching wisdom, which, after being seen, is to be read and kept.

DRAMATIC TRIUMPH

The play is a dramatic triumph for one not primarily a dramatist. It is so well-contrived and balanced that it is not easy to be sure whether Huxley decided to write a mystery play and worked in some philosophy, or whether he invented the first as a vehicle for the second. There is plenty of tension, hardened dabbler in mysteries though I am, I was pain-fully anxious to know how it would all end, There is plenty of humour, too, at any rate in the earlier part of the play. The character-drawing was play. The character-drawing was good but for a touch of crudity in the poisoner and some obviousness in the stock figure of the sex-repressed

nurse.

Peter Glenville has brought skill and intelligence to the production, and the use of the divided stage in the third act not only speeded the play but also greatly helped its interpretation. The juicy role of the poisoner is played by Pamela Brown; towards the

end she seemed a little too much like a mix-ture of Goneril and Regan with a dash of Ophelia, but here I think she suffered a little from the crudity of character-drawing already

Edited by

Roger Page

noted.

That perpetually shining star, Clive Brook, plays the husband. I thought he had not always got into the philosophical skin of the part; he was better at doing than talking; better at talking to people than talking about ideas. But how beautifully he touched off his relationship to each of the people in his life. The nurse is a safe part for almost any actress and it was not to be expected that Mary Merrall would fail.

There were other good contributions, but

There were other good contributions, but I award the medal of the evening to Noel Howlett for his perfect portrayal of the wise and courageous and lovable doctor used by Huxley to express so much of his wise and courageous philosophy.

A FOREIGN AFFAIR

THE last time this column mentioned a film with a background of ruined Germany it was to give credit to that very fine German production The Murderers are Amongst Us. Now Hollywood has taken a hand with a film "large parts" of which, we are assured "were photographed It is a major irony of the gods that those who produced the magnificent German effort are regarded as fit subjects for re-education at the hands of those who made A Foreign Affair.

A Congressional Committee goes to Berlin to investigate the morale of the troops (American wives and mothers can have found no comfort in this film). On the Committee is a militant young woman who is full of determination to expose all the festers but who-yes, you guessed itfalls a Victim to Love and the Black Market. For the first she lets down Market. For the first she lets down her back hair, from the second she gets a dinner gown, and in five days sinks as low as any GI after five years from home. This film does deal, in a clumsy way, with immorality (I don't mean who sleeps with who) but only to excuse and laugh at It seems to say to those American wives and mothers: Your men in Germany are having a hell of a time; we don't deny it, but we'll excuse it

The pity of it is that it is all played out against a background of the sufferings and miseries of Berlin. There is a regrettable gloating quality in the opening flight over Berlin and quite shocking callousness when the Army Colonel takes the Committee on a car drive through the city. cheap and cynical comments constitute a new low record in tastelessness. The vast Black Market is regarded as vast joke; the miseries of the Berliners as a series of little jokes: German girls without exception succumb to a bar of candy—nylons can be reserved for the really big fry.

Of course—to be fair—the film has some good things in it, and it is occasionally possible to laugh without embarrassment. Marlene Dietrich embarrassment. Marlene Dietrich wickedly parodies many of her own earlier films. But the whole thing is unpleasant, unnocessary and unworthy and suggests that it might be a profitable business to stand outside the Carlton Cinema selling mouthwash.

ROGER PAGE.

become a keen esperantist, and and

contributor to the paper, La Patrie Humaine. In the years immediately before the War, he was able to put his linguistic and journalistic ability at the service of the International, when he founded the Pacifist Esperan-tist Association, and published an esperanto translation of its literature in France.

physical writers.



RAOUL MELO

With the German occupation, all such activities came to an end. But Raoul Melo's convictions remained unshaken. "Pacifism is the only way of snaken. "Pacinsm is the only way of life for a free progressive human being," he writes. His present work as a philatelic agent allows him comparative freedom of action, and since the ending of hostilities he has been busy reconstituting the pacifist movement gathering around him a ruleur ment, gathering around him a nucleus. of sincere devoted workers for peace.

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HUNGER CAUSES WAR. Help to abolish both by eating properly produced home grown food. To obtain wholewheat, flour, fruit and vegetables grown without chemicals, direct from the growers, join the Whole Food Society (Non-profit), Goosegreen Farm, Bridgwater, Somerset.

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Crasmere 129.

Will Europe's cripples unite?

COMMENTARY CONTINUED

ing extracts from The Daily Express: mg extracts from The Dally Express:

"The U.S. now supports Britain's request for a trusteeship over Libya to fulfil a promise to Senussi tribesmen that they will not be returned to Italian rule.

"U.S. military chiefs say it would be folly to lose control of bases in Libya."

It is the multiplicity of these control of the second control of the secon

It is the multiplicity of these contradictions all over the world that is so distressing, and that proves the absurdity of looking for salvation and peace by way of Continental or World Unions. So long as the nations continue in their present way of life. pursue their materialistic standards of living, these contradictions will mul-

Prospects of union

ON the basis of its present materialistic values and outlook and of its conflicting ideologies, Europe, either as whole or dissected, cannot unite for any ultimate end of peace at any level, political, economic or spiritual.

of First let us consider the simple issue of achieving unity through the development of trading relations between the Eastern and Western

The Report recently issued by the Economic Commission for Europe, which is to be studied by a special committee due to meet in Geneva on September 27, submits a case for the development of East-West trade that is based on the concept of continuing the pre-war economy, to which the Eastern block will never submit. The industrialised Western block is to receive food and raw materials from the Eastern block in return for machinery and fertilisers, by means of which the latter will be able to increase its production of these commodities.

This proposal may well suit the Eastern block for a year or two, but all the States in it are bent on carrythrough a big programme of industrial development in order to become as self-supporting as possible, and in order to acquire a bigger population and a high level of military power. Marxian Communism has at least taught them the fundamental importance of developing along these lines, and if the Western Powers are willing to assist them in this task, so much the better.

The outcome of this development will be that Eastern Europe will want fewer and fewer consumer goods from Western Europe, while its growing populations will consume larger and larger quantities of their home-grown food and their raw materials.

Plight of Western Europe

FOR quite different reasons, the prospects of achieving an effective unity in the limited field of Western. Europe are almost as remote. Most of the nations concerned are facing the prospect of bankruptcy, while they yet pursue the very policies which have brought them to it through the agonies and tragedies of two world wars. The disposition to help one another is strong, but the future of each is so black that all are afraid to take on too many risks. Let

afraid to take on too many risks. Let us glance at two or three of them:

FRANCE, once the intellectual and political leader of a wide area, is in the throes of economic and political disintegration and is rapidly moving towards social collapse. Deeply divided against herself ideologically, as the result of irreconcilable economic "rights" and demands, she is unable to enter into complete unity with any nation of group of nations on any vital issue:

GERMANY, once the economic hub of the greater part of Europe, still torn and bleeding and bewildered by the nightmare of the worst moral and spiritual lapse in recorded history, now struggles towards the light, but is held down and frustrated by States which cannot decide whether it is her mission, to continue to serve as the scapegoat of an evil social system in which all have shared, or be industrialised and later on militarised on behalf of her victorious neighbours;

BRITAIN, also unable to pay her way and living on American dollars, steadily de-

BRITAIN, also unable to pay her way and living on American dollars, steadily declines to make the sacrifices that are necessary to secure her economic and spiritual independence, and hopes against hope that the conditions upon which her prosperity was founded (but which were destroyed for ever in the World War II)

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will return, weighted even more heavily than formerly in her favour. Her crucial hour has not yet struck, and although she is becoming increasingly uneasy about her future, she still trusts in a luck that lacks rational warrant, while sacrificing everything for a mess of pottage.

Buttress against Russia

IN these circumstances Europe is incapable of unity or even of selfpreservation. Economic co-operation and unity are likewise out of the question, for the reason that the dominating Powers lack the spiritual directives which alone can limit and control economic demands. France desires a powerful say in the control of the Ruhr; Britain wants markets everywhere; while the U.S., with her eye on Russia has switched over from the concept of a pastoralised, to that of a highly-industrialised, Germany.
It thus transpires that as the pro-

cess of economic collapse advances, the

PPU WINS

Sutton 1. Stoke Newington 3 PECRUITING effort by the Sutton Territorial Army Unit produced one recruit.

Recruiting effort by the Stoke Newington Peace Group produced three new members for the Peace Pledge Union.

The local Press had quoted a Peace Group speaker as stating that the man who worked on his allotment, not the man who joined the TA, was the real hero in 1948 since he took the minimum necessary from the world's food pool.

Left looks more and more eagerly towards Russia and the Comintorm, and the Right towards the United States, while the latter endeavours to transform the largest possible area of Europe from the political inside Left to the outside Right, into a buttress against Russia, at almost any cost. The strategy of the Marshall Aid is based on this aim.

Military union the danger

THE inevitable impasse which the foregoing comments foreshadow is already tending to transform the proposed Economic Union of Western Europe into a Military Union, and this tendency will grow as the impasse develops. Mr. Churchill's support of the proposal, which must be associated with his Fulton speech, confirms this conclusion.

Thus, at worst we are moving towards an ideological war, and at best towards a struggle between two materialistic social systems, that of Marxian Communism and that of laissez-faire capitalism, neither of which can solve the ultimate problem of our civilisation, which is human survival and human liberty. The capitalism of the Industrial Revolution logically ends in the nihilism of Fascism or Communism, and in the process of transition personal freedom, the soul of which was already sicken-ing as a result of the steady destruction of vital spiritual rights and values under Industrialism, finally perishes. In due course Socialism takes over many of the values of capitalism, whence, society loses its spiritual leadership, since the Church also, has in the meanwhile succumbed to these same values.

Basis of World union

TT follows from the above as conclusively as day follows night, that justice, order, freedom and peace are one, and can have no security in a civilisation that is dominated by physical and material desires, but only in a society which renders homage to the richer, incorruptible values of the spirit, the values of creative living, which beautify man's environment, enoble his mind, build up his friendships, magnify his spiritual wealth in uncountable directions, and thus restrict by a spiritual law his demands upon the world's material resources. It is the nature of those values to pay respect to the spiritual rights others, since otherwise they could not exist anywhere.

Without the guidance of spiritual values there can be no reconciliation of the conflicting material demands of persons, classes and nations; hence no disarmament, for fear will be univer-

MOBILIZATION

For Peace

"WOMEN want peace, will they pay the price?" This question is put before members of the Women's Co-operative Guild in their September Bulletin. The Guild supports the 45 MP's letter to Mr. Bevin and seeks to educate public opinion until it says not, "We do not want to attack any dountry," but "We refuse to wage war under any circumstances." The International Woman Co-operator publishes a full report of the WRI Conference at Shrewsbury.

Because he believes an ordinary working man might succeed where diplomats have failed, 46-year-old Arthur Cutriss, a Notting-ham chimney sweep, means to go to Russia and talk to Stalin.

—Daily Herald, Sept. 14, 1948.

Peace News sales and new PPU members are increasing as a result of the London Area's weekly open-air

A meeting is to be held at Kingsway Hall on October 15 at 7.30 p.m. in connection with the London Area's Disarmament Campaign. On Oct. 23 and 24 Stoke Newington Peace Group will be holding a Peace Exhibition and Public Meetings at which Dr. Kathleen Lonsdale, Prof. Massey, Fenner Brockway, Stuart Morris and Sybil Morrison will be speaking. It will be held in Stoke Newington Friends Meeting House.

The Wiesbaden branch of the German Peace Society have had a Bill presented to the Hesse Parliament which aims at outlawing war.

Sydney George Conbeer, Southern Area representative on the PPU National Council, has been chosen by the Divisional Labour Party Selection Conference at Newport, Isle of Wight, to oppose Sir Peter Macdonald in the next election.

Sydney Conbeer, a native of Plymouth and for ten years a teacher in Birmingham, has been resident in the Isle of Wight since 1941. He has been editor of the IoW Labour Monthly, and for three years Vice-President of the IoW Divisional Labour Party.

FOR SUMMER CONFERENCE

HUNDRED people attended the Annual Summer Conference of the FoR at Glossop. A helpful feathe number of friends om overseas. There was present from overseas. valuable discussion under the general theme "Reconciliation in the World Today" and consideration was given to a re-examination of the FoR Basis from the point of view of the specialist, including the Scientist, the Theologian, Politician, Youth and the Ex-enemy. The evening discussions were related to fields of practical reconciliation.

Excursions were arranged during the week and the usual friendly and enjoyable social evenings were a feature of a successful Conference.

FOR CHILDREN

The United Nations International Children's Emergency Fund (UNICEF) will considerably increase its services, both geographically and in volume, according to a provisional budget of £19,000,000 for 1949, adopted by the 26-nation Executive Board.

ERRATUM.—The review of J. Cadoux's Life of Jesus, which appeared in PN on Aug. 13, was wrongly attributed to John Hogan. We apologise to Mr. Hogan and to J.H., the author of the review, for this error.

sal. Consequently the way of peace is the way of the good life and there is no other. Economic justice can flow from no other source. An economics or politics divorced from philosophic or religious truth spells collapse and death. I close with three short quota-

Rajagopalachari, Governor-General of India, on laying the foundation stone of the Mahatma Gandhi College, at Trivandrum in August declared that it was not enough to at-

clared that it was not enough to attempt to memorialise Mahatma Gandhi by raising institutions:

"The entire structure of life in India will have to be a memorial for Mahatma Gandhi. The entire Government, the whole society and its ways of living, these have to be a memorial."

In Peace News (August 27) F. A. Lea quoted these words of a Danish teacher of Garman refuge hove in an

teacher of German refugee boys in an

improvised Danish school:

"We have to learn the lesson of the last thirty years. When the Weimar Republic was set up, it was thought that democracy depended upon constitutions. Now we know that it depends upon democrats, Bring up the right sort of people and institutions will look after themselves. That is the task to which we are addressing ourselves."

The Glasgow Forward commenting

The Glasgow Forward commenting on the proposal to extend conscription from 12 to 18 months remarked: "Britain's most useful role is that of teacher—not policeman."

The biggest U.S. force sent to Britain in peacetime, 1,874 officers and men, landed at Liverpool yesterday to maintain 20 Superfection 150 Structure to maintain 90 Superforts and 50 Skymasters.

—News Chronicle, September 13, 1948

No. 6

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Canada today announced a cam-paign to recruit 15,000 men for the Services. -Daily Express, September 11, 1948

American Air Force units have returned their wartime H.Q. in Bushey Park, Mid-

to their wartime H.Q. In Board diesex.

The U.S. Eighth Air Force had its H.Q. in Bushey Park in 1942 and later it was taken over by General Eisenhower as his first headquarters in Britain.

—Daily Herald, Sept. 13, 1948.

Mr. Arthur Henderson, Air Min-

ister, declared:
"Those who join the RAF today are ensuring the success of a vital exensuring the success of a vital export, namely, the establishment of general confidence in Britain's intention and ability to defend her security and to resist aggression. Withty and to resist aggression. Without that confidence all other of our people might well be in vain."

—Daily Herald, September 13, 1948

Early in the day London was extensively "blitzed" by a strong force of "Southland," which struck heavy blows at the capital.

—News Chronicle, Sept. 6, 1948.

YOUNG FEDERALISTS MEET IN ENGLAND

YOUNG people from twenty-two nations attended the second the World Annual Congress of the World Student Federalists (Youth Section of the World Movement for World Federal Government) last week at Hastings.

The speakers included Henry Usborne, MP, Victor Collins, OBE, MP, Abbé Pierre, Edith Wynner and Piet Hein, President of the Danish Een Verden. The Mayor of Hastings, Alderman F. W. Chambers, OBE, JP,

Alderman F. W. Chambers, OBE, JP, presided.

Mr. Usborne explained the Plan in Outline of the Crusade for World Government. Mr. Collins pointed out that two out of every three human beings in the world today werstarving, and that we must double the world food production. For this, he declared organisation on a world level was necessary. Abbe Pierre said that the world was moving towards unity whether we liked it or not and that the question was: "Are we going to make this unity ourselves, or is it to be a tyranny?" Miss Wynner recalled that before the last two wars Europe was the peace of the world, and the peace of Europe was the peace of the world. Today our problem was mucigreater. We were struggling for the survival of man. greater. We were struggling for the vival of man. World Student Federalists believe

World Student Federalists believe the government is the pre-requisite of peace, that there can be no peace in Europe without European government and no peace in the world without world government. The again of a world government will be to stop wart to solve world economic problems, and to guarantee human rights.

The address of the WSF is 20 Buckinghand, Street, London, W.C.2.

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